

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-15

USIA-15 ACDA-19 NEA-10 TRSE-00 MBFR-04 SAJ-01 NIC-01

DRC-01 CU-04 /150 W

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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2110

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

USMISSION BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL MUNICH

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AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

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AMEMBASSY WARSAW

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 11226

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UR

SUBJECT: SOVIET VIEWS ON EVE OF CSCE PHASE TWO

REF: A. MOSCOW 9890

B. MOSCOW 10974

C. MOSCOW 11049

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1. SUMMARY. ROVIET PRESS, DESPITE THE OPENING

PROVIDED BY BREZHNEV'S MORE POSITIVE APPROACH TO CONTACTS WITH THE WEST IN ALMA ATA SPEECH AUGUST 15 (REFTEL A), HAS NOT SHOWN MUCH EVIDENCE OF FLEXIBILITY ON BASKET THREE ISSUES. THE HIGHLY POSITIVE ACT OF CEASING JAMMING OF VOA, BBC, AND DEUTSCHE WELLE (REFTEL B) HAS NOT - AT LEAST NOT YET - BEEN FOLLOWED BY A CORRESPONDINGLY RELAXED PUBLIC POSITION. IN FACT, THE MOST AUTHORITATIVE COMMENT SINCE JAMMING STOPPED - A BOLSHAKOV PIECE IN PRAVDA SEPTEMBER 15 - IS OF THE HARDLINE VARIETY. WE ARE STRUCK BY THE LACK OF CONSISTENCY IN THE TREATMENT OF BREZHNEV'S REMARKS AT ALMA ATA - A SIGN THAT THE SOVIETS MAY BE HAVING POLICY PROBLEMS OVER THE CONTACTS ISSUE. END SUMMARY.

2. ON NEGATIVE SIDE, RECENT PRESS COMMENTARIES HAVE PLAYED TWO PARALLEL THEMES REGARDING CSCE.

A. FIRST THEME IS THAT WESTERN ADVOCATES OF CONCRETE ACTION ON BASKET THREE ARE TRYING TO SABOTAGE DETENENTE. IN THIS SOVIET COMMENTATORS MAKE USE OF SAKHAROV-SOLZHENITSYN AFFAIR. FOR EXAMPLE, IZVESTIA

COMMENTARY ON CSCE SEPTEMBER 10 (BY A. GRIGORYANTS) ACCUSES "NATO OFFICIALS, WEST GERMAN CDU/CSU OPPOSITION CIRCLES, AND MASTERS OF BOURGEOIS DESS" OF "REQUIRING USSR TO OPEN BORDERS TO 'WESTERN INFLUENCE' AND GRANT FREEDOM OF ACTIVITY TO THE HANDFUL OF ANTI-SOVIETS, AMONG THEM SO-CALLED 'WRITER-DISSIDENTS.'" BOLSHAKOV PRAVDA PIECE SAYS THAT "FERVENT WESTERN DEMOCRATS" SHED CROCODILE TEARS OVER "PROSECUTION OF INTELLECTUALS," E.G. SAKHAROV, SOLZHENITSYN, KRASIN, AND YAKIR, WHOM BOLSHAKOV BRANDS BY NAME AS "ACCOMPLICES OF IMPERIALIST REACTION."

B. SECOND THEME IS THAT WEST IS UNFAIRLY TRYING TO EXTRACT SOVIET CONCESSIONS ON BASKET THREE IN RETURN FOR WESTERN CONCESSIONS ON BASKET ONE. AS SAME IZVESTIA COMMENTARY PUTS IT, ATTEMPT IS "TO ARTIFICIALLY ESTABLISH LINKAGE BETWEEN QUESTIONS OF SECURITY IN EUROPE AND INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS REQUIRING INDIVIDUAL ATTENTION." PRAVDA COMMENTARY SEPTEMBER 5 BY HISTORY CANDIDATE S. MOKSHIN SAYS IT EVEN MORE

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BADLY. WESTERN MESSAGE TO USSR, SAYS MOKSHIN SCORNFULLY, IS CLEAR: "GIVEN IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE, DO NOT COME OUT AGAINST CAPITALISM, OPEN THE FRONTIERS FOR UNRESTRICTED DISSEMINATION OF ANTI-SOCIALIST IDEAS IN YOUR COUNTRIES; THEN WE (I.E., THE WEST) SHALL BE PREPARED TO ADOPT, WITHOUT ANY RESISTANCE, A COLLECTIVE SECURITY SYSTEM IN EUROPE."

3. TOGETHER WITH THESE NEGATIVE NOTES, PRESS CONTINUES TO QUOTE BREZHNEV'S MORE POSITIVE ALMA ATA STATEMENT THAT SOVIETS HAVE SOMETHING TO GAIN BY CONTACTS. IT SEEMS EVIDENT THAT COMMENTATORS HAVE BEEN ASKED TO WORK BREZHNEV STATEMENT INTO THEIR ARTICLES. FOR EXAMPLE, YU. KASHLEV IN NEW TIMES SEPTEMBER 14 CITES ALMA ATA IN STATING THAT PEOPLES OF SOCIALIST COMMONWEALTH ARE NOT AFRAID OF AN IDEOLOGICAL BATTLE. AND GDR PARTY POLITBORO MEMBER WERNER LAMBERT (WRITING IN PRAVDA SEPTEMBER 6) QUOTES ALMA ATA SPEECH IN REJECTING WESTERN CLAIMS THAT COMMUNISTS FEAR A BATTLE OF IDEAS WITH THE WEST.

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4. CURIOSLY, HOWEVER, A NUMBER OF SOVIET COMMENTARIES PAY LIP SERVICE TO THE POSITIVE ALMA ATA THEME BUT THEN PROCEED TO UNDERCUT IBGM CASE IN POINT IS PIECE BY A. SOVYETOV IN MFA ORGAN MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN (NUMBER 9) WHICH QUOTES ALMA ATA DEFENSE OF WIDER CONTACTS, UBT HEDGES IT WITH STANDARD INSISTENCE ON RESPECT FOR EACH COUNTRY'S SOVEREIGNTY, LAWS, AND CUSTOMS. AND BOLSHAKOV IN ABOVE-NOTED PRAVDA COMMENTARY FOLLOWS ALMA ATA QUOTE WITH HIS OWN CAUTIONARY NOTE: "HOWEVER, WE ARE AGAINST THE IMPOSITION OF IDEAS WHICH ARE ALIEN
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TO US, AGAINST DISREGARD FOR OUR CUSTOMS, LAWS, AND PRINCIPLES. WE ARE AGAINST MEDDLING IN OUR INTERNAL AFFAIRS."

5. CAMPAIGN IS ALSO UNDERWAY TO PROVE THAT USSR DOES IN FACT HAVE BULTITUDE OF CONTACTS WITH WEST. MOSCOW NEWS SEPTEMBER 5 ASSERTED THAT 2,300,000 TOURISTS VISITED USSR LAST YEAR, AND 1,900,000 SOVIET TOURISTS WENT ABROAD (THOUGH NOTING THAT OVER HALF THESE CONTACTS WERE WITH SOCIALIST COUNTRIES). NEW TIMES SEPTEMBER 14 RAN LETTER FROM INTOURIST OFFICIAL QUOTING HAPPY LETTERS FROM RECENT WEST GERMAN AND ITALIAN TOURISTS TO USSR. ABOVE-NOTED MOKSHIN PRAVDA PIECE DELUGED READER WITH STATISTICS: 50 COUNTRIES WITH WHICH USSR HAS CULTURAL TIES, 250 INTERNATIONAL CULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS WITH WHICH SOVIETS PARTICIPATE, 17,000 SOVIET CULTURAL EXCHANGES WHO TRAVEL ABROAD YEARLY, ETC. RED STAR, IN PARTICULARLY HOSTILE SEPTEMBER 15 COMMENTARY (BY YU, NALIN), PARADED SIMILAR LIST AND ASKED RHETORICALLY: "WHAT CAPITALIST COUNTRY CAN COMPARE WITH USSR IN THE SCALE OF ITS INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS IN THE FIELDS OF CULTURE, EDUCATION, AND INFORMATION?"

6. IN SUMRN TREATMENT OF BASKET THREE ISSUES INDICATES THAT SOVIETS ARE ANXIOUS TO PUT BEST FACE ON THEIR APPROACH TO CONTACTS WITH THE WEST. AT THE SAME TIME, THE INCONSISTENCY IN THE PLAYBACK OF BREZHNEV'S ALMA ATA STATEMENT RAISES THE POSSIBILITY THAT THERE IS NOT FULL AGREEMENT OVER HOW NEGATIVE THAT APPROACH SHOULD BE. WE SUSPECT THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP MAY BE HAVING POLICY PROBLEMS OVER THE CONTACTS ISSUE.

7. RECENT COMMENTARIES ON CSCE HAVE BEEN LARGELY PREOCCUPIED WITH CONTACTS ISSUES; THEY CONTINUE TO

EMPHASIZE, HOWEVER, THE PRIMACY OF SECURITY ISSUES
IN THE SOVIET VIEW OF CSCE.

8. AMONG NOTEWORTHY ELEMENTS OF SOVIET VIEWS ON PROCEDURAL
POINTS:

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A. TIMING: PRESS HAS CONSISTENTLY HEWED TO
POSITION THAT CONFERENCE SHOULD BE COMPLETED RAPIDLY.
ABOVE-MENTIONED IZVESTIA ARTICLE OF SEPTEMBER 10 SPOKE
CRITICALLY OF WESTERN PRESS ASSERTIONS THAT CONFERENCE
COULD BE DRAGGED OUT WELL PAST CHRISTMAS. ARTICLE BY
ANATOLIY GROVQKO (MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN NO. 9) GAVE
IMPRESSION U.S. AND SOVIETS ARE WORKING TOGETHER TO
WRAP UP CSCE WAS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE. (AT LUNCH WITH
GROMYKO AND OTHER SOVIET OFFICIALS REPORTED REFTEL C,
CHARGE TOOK SPECIFIC EXCEPTION TO U.S. PRESS ACCOUNTS
ALLEGING U.S.-SOVIET DEAL TO FINISH CONFERENCE QUICKLY,
AND EMPHASIZED TIME-CONSUMING COMPLEXITIES OF DEALING
WITH 35 COUNTRIES.)

B. LEVEL OF REPRESENTATION AT THIRD STAGE: SAME
IZVESTIA COMMENTARY REFERRED TO CONVENING THIRD
STAGE AT LEVEL OF "HEADS OF GOVERNMENTS AND STATES."
THIS DEPARTS FROM STANDARD PRESS FORMULATIONS ("AT
HIGHEST LEVEL") AND FROM GROMYKO FORMULATION AT
HELSINKI ("REPRESENTATIVES OF STATES AT HIGHEST
LEVEL"). STRANGELY, NOVOSTI DAILY REVIEW IN ENGLISH
MISTRANSLATED IZVESTIA REFERENCE AS SIMPLY "SUMMIT."
THE NEWER FORMULATION, IF MAINTAINED, WOULD SUGGEST
THAT BREZHNEV MAY NOT BE PLANNING TO ATTEND. (A MORE
EXOTIC READING - THAT HE MAY INTEND TO TAKE ON A
GOVERNMENT TITLE - WOULD OBVIOUSLY REQUIRE MORE
EVIDENCE THAN EXISTS AT PRESENT.)
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